

COD. VAT. GR. 463 AND AN
ELEVENTH-CENTURY BYZANTINE
PAINTING CENTER

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THE study of Byzantine manuscript painting has mainly involved problems of classification. Works have been more or less roughly divided into periods or centuries by style and into iconographical families according to significant compositions. Certain issues can now be formulated as the next generation of problems awaiting study. As a general statement of these issues we cannot do better than to recall Alphonse Dain's succinct characterization of the state of paleographical research when he wrote over two decades ago: "La notion de *scriptorium*, si commune dans le monde médiéval latin, est encore mal définie dans le domaine grec, sauf dans des cas trop rares. La détermination des centres de copie et les écoles de calligraphie d'époque byzantine est le dernier grand problème qui reste à résoudre dans l'ordre de la paléographie grecque."¹ For art historians, the identification of the centers of book decoration will be a major step toward the answers to a number of fundamental and largely unexplored questions, such as how painters were trained, how they were organized, whether they were mainly laymen or predominantly monks, and which were the leading centers. Two ways are open in the pursuit of information bearing on these problems; one is through the compilation and analysis of written testimony, and the other through the accumulation of a body of empirical evidence. The following study of three Middle Byzantine manuscripts is intended as a contribution to the latter method. The basic assumption is that after the amateurish or technically incompetent work has been set aside, there remains a body of manuscripts that cannot be divided among more than a handful of organized groups of artisans. From this assumption I have presumed that the possibility exists of demonstrating that certain illustrated manuscripts were produced in the same centers.

The three works that I believe were made by the same group of artisans are all known; they are Vat. gr. 333 and gr. 463, and Venice, Bibl. Marc., gr. 479. I intend to establish the relationships between them by showing that all or part of the illustrations of each are the autograph work of two anonymous painters who, with two colleagues (whose hands appear in only one of the manuscripts), form the staff of the center. The means of making the attributions is stylistic analysis as it is commonly applied to Western works of art. Certain habits of painting as revealed in particular physiognomic types, patterns of drapery articulation, and methods of drawing are used in preference to those aspects of a painter's work, like iconography or composition, that might be more useful in establishing provenance on a more general level. The difficulties in making such attributions are well recognized. A case

¹ "La Transmission des textes littéraires classiques de Photius à Constantin Porphyrogénète," *DOP*, 8 (1954), 35. I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Gary Vikan and Professors David Wright and Kurt Weitzmann for their suggestions.

To compensate for loss of color and detail in the reproduction process, in this paper the miniatures appear uniformly enlarged 25%.

can sometimes be strengthened by similarities in the styles of ornament and script and by records of ownership, but these matters are of no assistance here. Two of the manuscripts contain little or no ornament, and the script of one must be disqualified from consideration. The remaining sample, given the perils of attribution based on the Middle Byzantine "liturgical" hand, is too small to permit a demonstration that there was an immediate relationship and, as a consequence, that the center was a scriptorium, which is my belief. Finally, records of provenance offer no clues. I have therefore confined this study to identifying the painters, showing where they worked, as indicated by general aspects of style, and offering two final observations which challenge commonly held notions of Byzantine painting. Throughout, I use the term "center," or "painting center," to denote the organization to which the painters belonged because it is less specific than "workshop" or "scriptorium," which have meanings or connotations that cannot be supported by fact or inference.

One of the three manuscripts contains a dated colophon; it is Vat. gr. 463,² an illustrated text of the so-called "liturgical homilies" by the fourth-century Church Father Gregory of Nazianzus. On the last leaf of the manuscript with text, folio 469^v, is the colophon written by the scribe in carmine half-uncial:³

αὕτη ἡ βίβλος πέφυκε Θεοδώρου (μον)αχ(οῦ) πρεσβυτέρου καὶ προεστῶτος τῆς τῶν Γαλακρηνῶν μονῆς, πόθῳ πολλῷ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ ἐξ οἰκείων αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, δωρεῶν κατασκευασθεῖσα καὶ κοσμηθεῖσα· γραφεῖσα δὲ τῇ αὐτοῦ προτροπῇ χειρὶ Συμεῶν (μον)αχ(οῦ) τοῦ αὐτοῦ μαθητοῦ, καὶ τελειωθεῖσα μην(νι) δεκεμβρίῳ ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) πρώτης ἐν ἔτει τῷ ,σφοα' βασιλεύοντος τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ Δοῦκα καὶ Ἐβδοκίας τῆς αὐγούστης.

This book belongs to Theodore the monk, presbyter and abbot of the Galakrenai monastery, having been made and adorned with great affection and care from his own, or rather God's, gifts. It was written at his request by the hand of Symeon the monk, his pupil, and finished in the month of December of the first indiction, in the year 6571 [= 1062] in the reign of the most pious Constantine Ducas and Eudocia the augusta.⁴

The colophon indicates that the abbot Theodore of the Galakrenai monastery⁵ had his pupil Symeon write the text of the Gregory manuscript, a task certainly carried out in the monastery itself. The text is written in a handsome minuscule that attests to Symeon's training. The homilies are in the large minuscule

² R. Devreesse, *Codices Vaticani graeci*, II, *Codices 330–603* (Vatican City, 1937), 231–33; illustrations completely published by G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus*, *Studies in Manuscript Illumination*, VI (Princeton, 1969) (hereafter Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*), figs. 78–93.

³ K. and S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, VIII, 2 (Boston, 1937), pl. 530. The assertion by F. Dölger, in his review of this fascicle of the Lakes' corpus (*BZ*, 40 [1940], 121), that the colophon of Vat. gr. 463 is not by the hand of the scribe, strikes me as being based more on the colophon's content than on the style of writing. I find no reason to doubt that it is a scribal colophon.

⁴ I am indebted to Professor John Duffy for bringing to my attention the proper punctuation and reading (which significantly alter the traditional interpretation) of this colophon.

⁵ For this monastery, see the various publications of R. Janin: "La Banlieue asiatique de Constantinople," *EO*, 22 (1923), 294; *Constantinople byzantine*, AOC, IVa (Paris, 2nd ed., 1964), 497–98; *Les Eglises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins* (Paris, 1975), 40–41.

used for service books, while the commentary and subsidiary texts are written in a smaller, slightly more cursive manner, but there are no apparent stylistic changes that would suggest more than one scribe.⁶ The decoration of the manuscript, however, was not done in the monastery. Theodore paid for the decoration, as he says "...from his own, or rather God's, gifts." Whether this was actual cash payment or remuneration by some other means we do not know; but it is certain that he would not have been obliged to pay for work done in the very monastery in which he was abbot. The date—December 1062—specifically refers to the completion of the text, as is usual in Byzantine colophons. Since, in addition, it makes mention of the decoration, the colophon may have been appended after the painting was finished. Even if it could be proven that it was written before the addition of the decoration, the gain in knowledge would be minimal, for observation shows that the manuscript was planned from the start to receive the headpieces and initials. In either case, the painting was surely done immediately after the completion of the text, in late 1062 or early 1063. Further implications of the colophon are best left until the illustrations of this manuscript and those of the two related ones have been examined.

The decoration of Vat. gr. 463 consists of one full-page miniature, a series of figural initials, and nonfigural letters and headpieces. The figural initials have been published by G. Galavaris, who implies that they were all executed by the same painter.⁷ An examination of their style, however, indicates the collaboration of two artisans. The first initial, on folio 4, to Oration 38 (*In Theophania*), is a *chi*,⁸ now so flaked as to render it useless for stylistic analysis. The next initial, though, is relatively well preserved; it is the *epsilon* on folio 22 with a portrait of Basil the Great (fig. 1) beginning Oration 43 (*In laudem Basilii Magni*). The Saint is represented almost full-length with his right arm outstretched to form the cross-stroke of the letter. There is no shading, on either his off-white *sticharion* or his olive-brown *phelonion*, to indicate the specific limbs or the overall plasticity of the forms. Instead, thin lines of chrysography outline the sleeve of the *phelonion* and define the shallow folds of the material. In general, chrysography—which I use here to denote not simply "writing in gold," but also the same technique employed by painters in the articulation of drapery and flesh—is conceived of as a rational system of highlights intended to create the illusion of light reflected from the irregular surface of a simple geometric form. In the portrait of Basil, though, the lines

⁶ For page facsimiles, see Lake, *op. cit.*, pls. 528–30; and H. Follieri, *Codices graeci bibliothecae Vaticanae selecti*, Exempla scripturarum, IV (Vatican City, 1969), pl. 26. One irregularity should be pointed out: quires I (α') through XXIX (κθ') are numbered at the bottom left corner of the first leaf. A new set of quire numbers begins on fol. 230, but the first few of these have been trimmed away by a binder so that the first preserved after the change is on fol. 262 to quire V (ε'); these are placed in the top right corner of each first leaf of a new quire. Since there is no accompanying change in the style of the script, there is no obvious reason for the change. The eleventh-century Gospel Lectionary Vat. gr. 1162 also has the quires numbered in two parts, but in this case the break coincides with the division between the *synaxarion* and the *menologion* (as well as with certain changes in the type of illustration). In my experience such renumbering is rare.

⁷ *Gregory Nazianzenus*, 252.

⁸ *Ibid.*, fig. 80 (with the left part of the letter omitted from the illustration).

of gold seem indecisively applied; they are generally short, curved, and at times almost tentative in appearance, and as a result, the drapery appears agitated yet flat. It is outlined by a thin black line, while the hand and arm are outlined in carmine, which served as the underdrawing for gold. The individual fingers are indicated by the same dense black that the painter uses elsewhere.

Basil's face presents other hallmarks of this painter's style. The flesh, once outlined in gold, is a flat shade of unnaturalistic pink with no shading along any of the surfaces. The mouth is indicated by a line of gold and the other features by short black lines. The Saint's hair, mustache, and beard are also black, but with surprisingly indistinct outlines. In the following initial on folio 107 (Oration 39, *In sancta lumina*), a letter *pi* with the Baptism of Christ (fig. 2), this painter's peculiar palette is again apparent. The flesh of the nude Christ at the left is rendered in the same unrelieved pink color as that of Basil's face in the previous letter; there is no internal shading and the limbs are indicated only by chrysography. Christ's facial features, like those of the Baptist to the right, are drawn completely in black with exceptional crudeness, and both he and John have their mouths delineated in a noticeable frown. In this composition, the painter has also used white lines here and there to show highlights. On John's face there is one above the left eye and another on the side of the face. These highlights, like the black used elsewhere, are not worked into the base tone; rather, they were quickly applied after the pink had set.

The subject of the composition on folio 107 naturally dictates that John be shown striding, but the painter is constrained by the shape of the letter to show him in a more or less upright posture. He has settled on a rather willowy figure with bent knees. John's tunic, now almost completely flaked away, was originally the same slightly greenish cream color as that in the letter on folio 22, while his himation is olive-brown. The lines of chrysography indicating the crests of the drapery folds are again spread in an overall network of short, curving strokes. The drapery is outlined in black and the limbs in gold.

The work of this first painter, Painter I, seems barely informed by a developed concept of an organic figure motivating the rise and fall of drapery. There is no shading along the sides of limbs, or even on entire figures. Painter I relies on certain graphic conventions, which at times he appears not to comprehend fully. The uniformly intense pink of feet, arms, hands, and faces is regularly outlined in gold, while the internal details like fingers, noses, or eyes are in black. Occasionally, he uses white highlights which familiarity with Byzantine painting tells us indicate brow ridges or cheekbones. Apart from the unusual color used for the flesh and the rather dull shades for the drapery, this painter's work is marked by the pigment layers themselves. Painter I often applies his colors in thick layers that have in time been lost. In itself, this may not seem to count as a particularly noteworthy trait, especially in light of the notorious Byzantine fondness for heavy, and there-

fore fragile, layers of enamel-like pigment; but in regard to the techniques of Painter I's associates, this becomes significant. In all, this man's hand, as defined by style and technique, is apparent in six of the fourteen initials, those on folios 4, 22, 107, 127, 184, and 319.⁹ Except for the *alpha* on folio 319, the initials in this style are consecutive within roughly the first half of the homilies text.

The initial *alpha* on folio 192 (to Oration 21, *In laudem Athanasii*), showing St. Athanasius (fig. 3), is executed in a manner manifestly different from that of the letters attributed to Painter I. Athanasius leans to the right, gesturing forcefully in a way similar to that of John the Baptist who signals the tree at whose roots the ax has been laid, a familiar Gospel illustration. In contrast to the representation of Basil on folio 22 (fig. 1), one notes how the line describing the left side of the Saint's body curves over the shoulder, then moves in toward the waist, finally swelling out gently over the calf and ankle. The impression is of loosely fitting vestments, which through their own weight conform to the contours of the Saint's body as he leans sharply to his left. The full-sleeved *phelonion* is ochre and is worn over a light blue *sticharion*; their descriptive lines of chrysography are relatively wide and have been applied with a sure touch in long parallels. Finally, the face of the Saint is rendered differently from those in any of the six letters attributed to Painter I. The hair gives the impression of being a soft mass which, due to the fine shading around the face and the emphasis of the thin black hairline, appears to rise plastically from the head. Athanasius' hair is grey, not the strong black regularly used by Painter I.¹⁰ The flesh is a creamy shade of warm ochre with red used to indicate the lips. Soft areas of white are carefully blended into the base tone to give the forehead and bridge of the nose an appearance of plasticity. Only the eyes and nose are actually outlined, and this is done with a brown line considerably less insistent than the black used by Painter I. The subtlety of this second painter's approach to portraiture is demonstrated by the knit brow of St. Gregory in the initial on folio 230 (to Oration 42, *Supremum vale*),¹¹ a letter with an overall height of only about three and one-half centimeters.

Painter II, as he will henceforth be called, uses a thin black line, but, as with the chrysography, in a markedly different manner from that of Painter I. Painter II outlines his figures in black, although the impression is considerably softened by overlapping the line with the color of the garment itself. This is clearly a conscious device because both painters, as one can tell from flaked or smeared letters, use carmine for the basic underdrawing, not black. Painter II also uses black along with gold in the articulation of drapery. In the figure of Habakkuk on folio 324 (to Oratio 45, *In sanctum Pascha II*) the gold and black are mixed and effectively suggest the rise and fall of the cloth (fig. 4).

⁹ For those not reproduced here, see *ibid.*, figs. 80, 84, 88.

¹⁰ There are only two instances in which Painter I departs from this practice: the personification of the river Jordan on fol. 107 and Adam on fol. 319.

¹¹ Galavaris, *Gregory Nazianzenus*, fig. 86.

One notes particularly the illusion of depth in the area between Habakkuk's legs created by the buildup of dark lines. Never does Painter II use black or gold to indicate either the outline of limbs or specific facial features; for these purposes he regularly uses brown. The color schemes also divide the figural initials into two groups. The difference in flesh tones is obvious; but, in addition, the ochre, light blue, and pink used in the draperies on folios 192, 230, 324, and 411 seem clearer than the sometimes murky tones in letters attributed to Painter I. Finally, the pigment layers of the figures of Athanasius and Habakkuk are intact. It is only in the initials on folios 230 and 411 that there are any losses. These traits are common to eight initials, those on folios 192, 230, 295, 324, 359, 371, 391, and 411.¹² Except for the Anastasis by Painter I, all the figural initials in the second part of the manuscript are painted by the second hand.

When the figural initials of Vat. gr. 463 are analyzed compositionally, there are no objective grounds for dividing them into two groups. At their most basic level, letters attributed to Painter I reflect narrative models (folios 4, 107, 127, 319), portraits (folio 22), and genre compositions (folio 184). Similarly, Painter II's work encompasses both narrative scenes (folios 192, 230, 371, 411) and portraiture (folios 192, 391). Neither is there any difference in the compositional modes; all the compositions are fairly lively, but typical of Middle Byzantine book illustration. Thus, the only factors dividing the letters into two groups are the treatment of individual forms and color schemes, which are traits of individual painters that probably would not be subject to close copying. If one agrees with Galavaris that Vat. gr. 463 is a copy of another illustrated Gregory manuscript,¹³ then the division of these letters by style of execution becomes even more convincing.

As an aid in establishing the painters' working methods the nonfigural ornament deserves consideration. Common sense suggests that as each painter added the initial he also completed the headpiece and gold title of the leaf he was working on at the time. An examination of this ornament shows that it falls into two groups, but the distribution does not exactly coincide with that of the figural initials. The consecutive headpieces on folios 4, 22 (fig. 1), 107 (fig. 2), 127 (fig. 5), and 184 present a homogeneous style that might be termed the "precise style." In each case the colors are strong and saturated, and the designs are executed with considerable care. The lines of highlight, drawn over the base tone to articulate the outlines of flower petals or the centers of vines, are thin and carefully painted. In addition, each title within this series is in gold uncials drawn with a precision matching that of the headpiece ornament. The first change in style of this ornament, to what I will call the "broad style," is on folio 192 (fig. 3), coinciding with the change in initials from Painter I to Painter II. Here the color scheme is slightly different; this is most noticeable in the shade of blue which is clearly lighter than that used in all the previous headpieces. Also, the highlight lines are wider and less

¹² For those not reproduced here, see *ibid.*, figs. 86, 87, 90–93.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 177–92.

carefully painted, so that the forms appear slightly rougher than those of the first series. Finally, the title is written in half-uncial, and the letters themselves, often failing to conform exactly to the underlying carmine, appear to be applied almost haphazardly.

The title form proves to be an accurate index of the two styles, for each time the title is written in uncial the colors and style remain constant, and vice versa. The two styles of the headpieces may be compared most conveniently with those of the initials in tabular form (P = precise; B = broad; NF = nonfigural initial; U = uncial; H-u = half-uncial):

Folio	Initial	Headpiece	Folio	Initial	Headpiece
4	I	P/U	319	I	P/U
22	I	P/U	324	II	P/U
107	I	P/U	359	II	P/U
127	I	P/U	371	II	P/U
184	I	P/U	391	II	P/U
192	II	B/H-u	411	II	B/H-u
230	II	P/U	428	NF	B/H-u
256	NF	B/H-u	444	NF	B/H-u
295	II	B/H-u			

There is a pattern behind this distribution. Each initial by Painter I is accompanied by a headpiece in the precise style and a title in uncial letters. There are only six titles in half-uncial with headpieces in the broad style: three correspond to initials by Painter II and three to nonfigural initials; none correspond to initials executed by Painter I. The three nonfigural initials, those on folios 256, 428, and 444 (to Orations 14, *De pauperum amore*; 19, *Ad Iulianum tributorem*; and 12, *Ad patrem*, respectively), are within the section of letters painted by the second hand. This concentration suggests either a model lacking in figural initials or adaptable miniatures for these homilies, or a cycle devised *ad hoc* wherein one painter was unable or unwilling to consistently devise figural compositions that would meet the requirements of the text. Whatever the model(s) may have been for Vat. gr. 463, the concentration of these three initials in one section of the manuscript and their correspondence with broad style headpieces suggests that they are the work of Painter II. At this point some interpretation is necessary. The working method was probably as follows. The manuscript was divided into two parts for decoration. The parts were not equal, since clearly the greater share went to the artisan with the more accomplished figure style, Painter II.¹⁴ Painter I, after he had finished all the leaves apportioned to him, completed the headpieces and titles to some of the leaves with initials by his colleague, who, in fact, seems to have had less patience with such ornament. This distribution may suggest that Painter I was an assistant to Painter II.

¹⁴ The one full-page miniature, the portrait of Gregory on fol. 3v (*ibid.*, fig. 78), is also the work of Painter II. This portrait, originally on a single leaf, has been remounted.

The style of Painter I of Vat. gr. 463 is important in relation to the second illuminated manuscript, the Vatican Book of Kings (Vat. gr. 333),¹⁵ a work of capital importance in the history of narrative illustration. Its cycle was certainly in existence by preiconoclastic times, as is attested by those scenes excerpted from it to serve as illustration for the supernumerary psalm. It is primarily the evidence of the similarity between the scenes from the life of David in the Paris Psalter (Paris. gr. 139) and those of the seventh-century Cyprus plates that indicates a preiconoclastic origin.¹⁶ Vat. gr. 333, however, is the only densely illustrated Book of Kings to have survived. Various dates in the eleventh and twelfth centuries have been proposed for it.¹⁷ Most recently, J. Lassus, who has done extensive work on this manuscript, has suggested the eleventh century, a date that would probably meet with general approval.

In the course of his study of the Book of Kings, Lassus has twice commented on the differences in style in the miniature cycle. In his first publication of the manuscript in 1929 he observed a two-part stylistic division, the first part extending from the beginning of the cycle to folio 51^v, the second from folio 53 to the end.¹⁸ This change, he wrote, was due to the participation of two different painters, but he left open the possibility that the first part as well was the work of more than one painter. At that time, Lassus felt it reasonable to suggest that some of the stylistic differences, if not most of them, should be accounted for by the use of different models. In his most recent publication on this subject (1973), his divisions of the cycle are generally the same, but he has rejected the argument that it was somehow pieced together from sources of varying styles.¹⁹ Instead, he decides in favor of a single model and is, therefore, compelled to confront the variations in the first part of the cycle, the miniatures to folio 51^v. Some of his attributions are made *en passant* in the section of commentary on the iconography of the miniatures, while others are mentioned briefly in the introduction.²⁰ In sum, Lassus does not offer a systematic division of hands for Vat. gr. 333; he is content to say that it is the work of various painters, any of whom may have worked with assistants. The significant shift registered in Lassus' writings on the Book of Kings is in the attitude toward the model in relation to the obvious stylistic

¹⁵ Devreesse, *op. cit.* (note 2 *supra*), 4-5; illustrations completely published by J. Lassus, *L'Illustration byzantine du Livre des Rois, Vaticanus graecus 333*, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques, IX (Paris, 1973) (hereafter Lassus, *Livre des Rois*).

¹⁶ K. Weitzmann, "Prolegomena to a Study of the Cyprus Plates," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 3 (1970), 97-111. Weitzmann has also argued for the use of an illustrated Book of Kings as a source of models for certain scenes in the synagogue at Dura-Europos, a relationship that would date the invention of the Book of Kings cycle to at least the first half of the third century A.D.; see *idem*, "Zur Frage des Einflusses jüdischer Bilderquellen auf die Illustration des Alten Testaments," *Mullus: Festschrift Theodor Klauser* (= *JbAChr*, Suppl., 1 [1964]), 404-5 (reprinted in English translation in *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H. Kessler [Chicago-London, 1971], 79-80).

¹⁷ A date in the twelfth century is proposed, e.g., by V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin, 1967), 254 note 21 (hereafter Lazarev, *Storia*).

¹⁸ "Les Miniatures byzantines du Livre des Rois d'après un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Vaticane," *MélRome*, 45 (1928), 41-44.

¹⁹ *Livre des Rois*, 16-18.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 17.

differences between the painted miniatures. It seems reasonable, I think, to suppose that even though Vat. gr. 333 is the only surviving work of its type, it is a copy of a similarly illustrated work; its cycle was not pieced together from disparate sources.

All the miniatures up to folio 27^v are the work of a single painter, to whom I shall refer as Painter A. The demonstration, however, is complicated by two factors. The first is that from the beginning of the manuscript up to folio 11 the miniatures are often heavily abraded. The second is that the miniatures of the first quire (folios 5 to 12) are very small; the one on folio 8, for example, is only 2.6 cm. high.²¹ From the start of the second quire (folios 13 to 19) the miniatures become appreciably larger, and this change in scale has an effect on certain aspects of the painter's style. Two well-preserved miniatures in the first quire, those on folio 12 (figs. 6a–b), exhibit several traits that are, upon examination, discernible in other miniatures in this as well as subsequent quires. In the first miniature (I Sam. 8:1) the heads of Samuel's two sons are slightly too large for their stocky bodies (fig. 6a). Both have skin that is a light cream color with a definite green cast to it. Their faces are carefully shaded with red on the cheeks and the centers of the foreheads and with brown elsewhere, as around the sharply slanting brows that give them a melancholy appearance. Their hair is a deep brown and is outlined in black with hairlines receding at the temples, but dipping low in the center of the forehead. The expression suggested by the eyes paralleled by the hairline is heightened by the brothers' perceptible frowns. Mouths and other facial features, like the eyes themselves and the outlines of the nose, are drawn with a brown line. The same physiognomic type, as well as individual stylistic traits, are seen in earlier miniatures of the cycle, for example, those on folios 6^v, 10^v, and 11.²²

In painting the drapery of Samuel's two sons on folio 12, Painter A uses a method not unusual in Byzantine illumination. The son at the left wears a creamy yellow tunic articulated by thin black lines, over which is a rich brown cape articulated with red. The second brother, the figure in the center, wears a cool, light lavender tunic and a medium brown cape over it. In both cases the painter uses a deeper tone for whole sections of drapery covering parts of the figure farther away from the beholder. Over this he then draws the fine lines of appropriate darker colors to indicate the individual folds, and adds white for highlight areas. Occasionally, the major change from one plane to another is marked by an entirely different color. In the second miniature on folio 12 (fig. 6b) Samuel wears a yellow mantle that changes to a deep brown as it describes the part of the body farther away from the viewer.

In both illustrations on folio 12 Samuel's proportions are different from those of the other figures: his leonine head is better balanced by a body that seems taller and more imposing. In addition, the painter exercises considerable care in delineating this one figure. Samuel's drapery, each time a light blue

²¹ *Ibid.*, fig. 8.

²² *Ibid.*, figs. 5, 15, 16.

himation over a pale yellow tunic, is somewhat more detailed than the garments of the other figures. His face is a rich tan, carefully shaded. One especially appreciates the expert handling of the transitional passage from the highlighted cheekbone to the sunken hollow of the cheek itself. There is, therefore, a tendency to single out the most important figure in a composition not simply through increased stature, but also through greater attention to the details of drapery articulation and facial modeling. Such distinctions may occasionally appear distracting to our eyes, as in the miniature on folio 16^v.²³

The style described above remains constant through each leaf of the next two quires. In these larger miniatures the emphasis on the heads is diminished in favor of depicting figures with more natural proportions, as in the scene of the anointing of David (I Sam. 16:13) on folio 22^v (fig. 7). Here, in the representation of the brothers, one notes the physiognomic type for stock figures used by Painter A; they have broad foreheads and often slanting brows, as do the sons of Samuel in the miniatures on folio 12 (figs. 6a–b). The change in figure proportions is not the only one accompanying the enlargement of the miniatures at the start of the second quire. The speed at which Painter A worked was apparently also affected, for the colors in the second and third quires lack the miniature-to-miniature homogeneity of those of the first quire. Yet the clustering of miniatures with like color schemes is not progressive through any one quire; rather, it suggests that the scenes were executed one *bifolium* at a time. This suspicion is confirmed by the distribution of hands in the fourth quire, folios 27 to 34. Clearly, all the miniatures on the outside, or first, sheet of quire four, folios 27 + 34, were executed by Painter A. It is with the second *bifolium*, folios 28 + 33, that a noticeable change in the painting style occurs, but as with the change in style in Vat. gr. 463 there is no accompanying change in format or compositional style.

On folio 28 (fig. 8) there is a scene illustrating part of the story of David and Jonathan (I Sam. 20:35–41). At the far right the two figures of David and Jonathan embracing are unquestionably the work of Painter A. David's face may be compared in its manner of execution and physiognomic type with that of the stock crowd figure second from the right in the miniature on folio 16.²⁴ It is the three figures to the left in the composition on folio 28 that are by the second hand, Painter B.²⁵ The most striking is the youth in the center who bends down to pick up the arrow. His tunic is a single, flat blue with no shading; there are only short, curved lines of chrysography to indicate the fold patterns of the garment. In the miniature on the verso of this leaf,²⁶ illustrating I Sam. 21:1–6 and 10–15, Painter A executed the figures of Ahimelech and David, while the three "young men" at the left and Doeg peering over the hill are the work of Painter B. These

²³ *Ibid.*, fig. 27.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 26.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 17: Lassus argues simply for a change of painters in this miniature; clearly, however, it is a case of collaboration.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, fig. 52.

secondary figures are portrayed with their garments outlined with a thin black line. Their exposed flesh, however, is outlined in chrysography. Painter A never outlines flesh or figures in gold; he uses it only as decoration on shoes or to indicate patterns of embroidery on patrician garments.

The faces of Painter B's figures on the sheet 28 + 33 are all heavily flaked, but those of the miniature on folio 30 are well preserved (fig. 9). This sheet, like 28 + 33 and 29 + 32, represents the collaboration of the two painters. In the upper zone of the miniature (I Sam. 22:18) Painter A was responsible for only the kneeling figure of Ahimelech; the others are by Painter B. Each figure's flesh, except that of Ahimelech, is represented by a strong, dense pink with no shading whatsoever. The hair of these figures is a uniform dark brown and is, like the faces and arms, outlined in gold in a manner that seems rather careless, as it often falls within the actual outline of the area of color it is meant to delineate. The internal drawing of facial features is done with a dense black line, although gold may also occasionally be used. The contrast with the face of Ahimelech could hardly be greater. His skin is a warm brown, smoothly shaded. The physiognomic type is related to that of Painter A's Samuel, as, for instance, in the miniatures on folios 17^v²⁷ and 22^v (fig. 7). In the lower zone of the miniature (fig. 9) the same criteria apply: the figures of David and Abiathar are the work of Painter A, while those of David's bodyguards are the contribution of Painter B. In terms of the general conception of the figure, as well as the means employed in its execution, the gulf between the work here attributed to a Painter A and a Painter B is so great that to my mind it is unthinkable as the conscious effort of one individual or the result of a change in the model.

The collaboration of A and B continues through the three surviving sheets of the fifth quire (folios 35 to 40) and one sheet, folios 44 + 45, of the sixth. In each miniature the pattern of collaboration is the same. Since the style of the backgrounds does not appear to change, even after Painter B begins to assist, the working procedure was probably as follows: Painter A first did the carmine underdrawing and painted the backgrounds and the most important figures of the miniatures on a single *bifolium*, which he then gave to Painter B for the addition of all the secondary figures. This method of working is simply an extension of the esthetic underlying Painter A's own work in the first three quires of the manuscript.

I think it can be argued convincingly that Painter B of the Vatican Book of Kings is identical with Painter I of Vat. gr. 463. The two blindfolded priests who stand to the left in the miniature on folio 30 of Vat. gr. 333 (fig. 9) may be compared with the figure of John the Baptist on folio 107 of Vat. gr. 463 (fig. 2). In both manuscripts the figures are flat in appearance; their garments are outlined in black and their flesh in gold. In both, the dull colors of the garments are articulated with short lines of chrysography, but with virtually no change in the basic tone of the garment itself; the flesh is painted in the same harsh pink with the facial features summarily indicated by black lines.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, fig. 29.

The mouths of the priests, framed by dark brown beards and mustaches, curve downward in a deep frown, as does that of John in the initial in Vat. gr. 463. Painter I's figure of the Baptist in the initial on folio 127 of Vat. gr. 463 (to Oration 40, *In sanctum baptisma*) (fig. 5) may also be compared with that of Nabal (I Sam. 25:5–12) on folio 33 of the Book of Kings (fig. 10). In this miniature Painter A executed only the figure of David, now badly flaked, seated on a shield at the far left; the remainder of the two-part miniature was left to Painter B, including Nabal, the major participant in the scene at the right. He is dressed in a long green tunic outlined in black and articulated with short strokes of chrysography. In this example the painter's conception of the figure is particularly apparent, and is exceptionally close to that of the painter of John the Baptist. Both John and Nabal wear tunics that are rather long and close-fitting, and, while both figures are shown in motion, the sides of their garments remain almost parallel from shoulder to hemline. The tunic utterly fails to suggest the form of the body beneath it. Contrast this figure type with Painter A's Samuel on folio 22^v of the Book of Kings (fig. 7). Samuel's himation—apart from its having a surface articulated in folds that, no matter how stereotyped and formalized, are rationally conceived—has an outline that clearly reveals the shoulder, elbow, waist, and knee. Even the diminutive figure of Habakkuk in Painter II's initial on folio 324 of Vat. gr. 463 (fig. 4) is painted so as to suggest the major limbs and joints of the body. Both John and Nabal have their left arms hidden beneath their tunics, and here again the painter is content with little more than a perfunctory suggestion; he uses gold and black lines to show a disturbance in the material that hardly evokes the impression of the garment falling over an arm. Nabal's face, including physiognomy, color, and details of drawing, is quite close to that of John the Baptist; note, for example, the placement of the prominent dot for the pupil of the eye in both figures. Thus, on a general and on a particular level, there are grounds for confidently maintaining that Painters I and B are the same individual, whose work stands out from that of his colleagues as well as from that of Byzantine painting in general. His secondary role in the illustration of Vat. gr. 333 is similar to the one he played in the decoration of Vat. gr. 463, and suggests that his strengths (ornament) and weaknesses (figures) were recognized by his fellow painters.

The participation of Painter I–B in these two manuscripts indicates that they were painted in the same center, and thereby enables more accurate dating of the Book of Kings than has hitherto been possible. Before considering the dating, it would be best to finish the examination of the Kings cycle. Lassus has twice stated that the major stylistic break in Vat. gr. 333 occurs with the miniature on folio 53; this is the point of the second format change in the manuscript, when the frames and blue backgrounds are discontinued. That the painter responsible for this miniature is neither A nor I–B strikes me as a correct observation. I should like to question whether this is the first miniature painted by a third hand. In the sixth quire of the

manuscript the first sheet, folios 41 + 48, is mainly the work of A, while the fourth sheet, folios 44 + 45, is a collaboration of A and I-B. The second and third sheets, folios 42 + 47 and 43 + 46, however, contain miniatures in a style sufficiently different from those of the others to suggest that they are the work of a different hand.

The miniature on folio 42^v (fig. 11) contains two scenes by Painter C, the upper one illustrating II Sam. 3:7, Ishbosheth Reproaching Abner, and the lower one, II Sam. 3:15-16, Michal Sent to David.²⁸ In the upper right is the commanding figure of Abner standing in a convincing *contrapposto* and oratorically gesturing toward the seated Ishbosheth. Abner, like most of the figures in this miniature, is a stocky fellow with a large head. His physiognomic type clearly is a departure from any used by Painters A or I-B. The head is a simple oval whose outline is interrupted only by the indentation for the orbit of the right eye. The hairline is low and effectively emphasizes the curve of the brow ridge. This device is occasionally used by Painter A, but never with the same sense of the decorative interplay of concentric arcs; nor are the head types drawn by A ever so simple. In the scene below, Painter C depicts David with the same physiognomy; in fact, there is a certain homogeneity to the facial types in this miniature that seems at odds with Painter A's attempts to vary the types in his miniatures. Contrast, for example, Painter A's figures in the miniature on folio 22^v (fig. 7), where the faces vary somewhat from figure to figure, although in general they tend to be long and occasionally they have foreheads that seem to jut out strongly. Each face on folio 42^v (fig. 11) has a carefully blended, but prominent, red circle on the cheek, fine shading along the line of the jaw, and subtle highlights on the brow ridge and nose. These basic features of facial articulation are all present in the work of Painter A, but Painter C uses them with more economy; and because his forms are more geometrically simple there is a gain, not a loss, in the degree of apparent plasticity. Abner's flesh is a warm tan and David's a cool cream, colors that alone would prevent an attribution of the miniature to Painter I-B. The subsidiary figures here, although somewhat flaked, are unquestionably in the style of the two main ones. Painter C, in fact, works alone, never collaborating with A or I-B on individual miniatures or, with one exception, even on single *bifolia*. The one exception is the miniature on folio 41^v, showing David with his wives and children (II Sam. 3:2).²⁹ In this miniature the pigment layer is uncharacteristically thick and some areas are lost, but the figures, especially that of David, appear to be the work of C. The miniature in the left column, however, is by A. This is the only example of individual scenes by these two painters appearing on the same leaf.

From the start of quire seven (folios 49 to 55), Painter C's miniatures become consecutive, continuing to the end of the manuscript. His framed miniature on folio 50 (fig. 12) depicting Uriah slain at the siege of Rabbah

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 36: in his commentary on this miniature Lassus writes, "On peut croire à l'intervention d'une autre main."

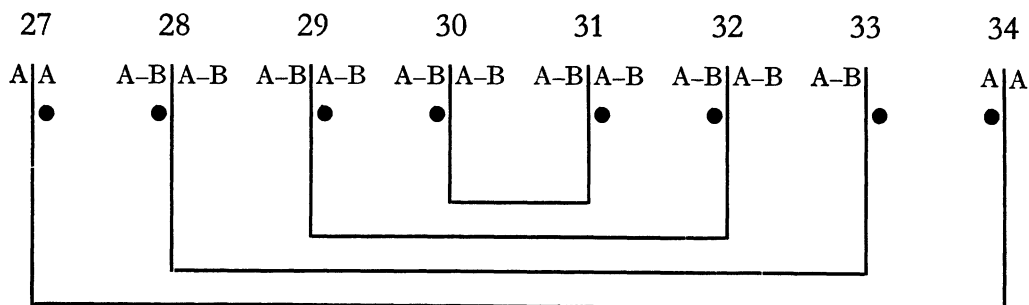
²⁹ *Ibid.*, fig. 78/79.

(II Sam. 11:17) shows the same youthful type as that in the miniature on folio 42^v (fig. 11). This miniature also contributes two examples of the profile view habitually used by Painter C. It is the type of Uriah at the bottom of the miniature, as well as of one of the soldiers inside the fortified city, and is characterized by the low forehead, stubby nose, sunken mouth, and prominent chin. In addition, this profile type is often depicted with unruly hair. These two facial types virtually exhaust Painter C's repertory; his figures lack the range of expressions and physiognomies displayed by those of Painter A.

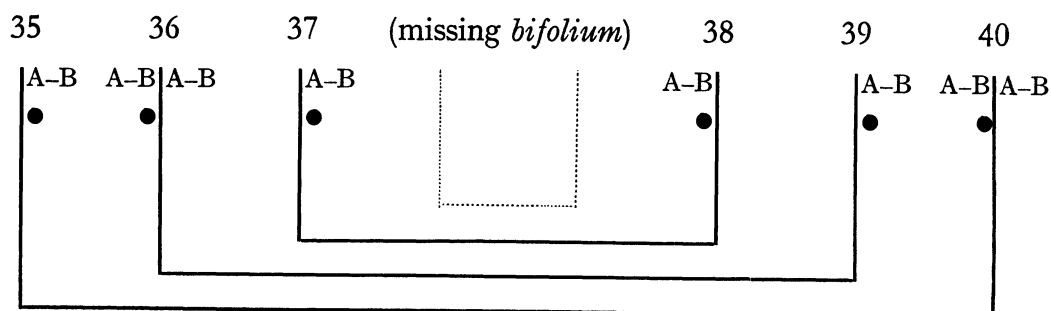
The absence of a frame and a background in the miniature on folio 53 does not, upon closer inspection, constitute quite as dramatic a break as it might seem at first. Painter C's miniatures in the sixth quire of the manuscript are framed exactly as are those of his colleagues. These frames consist of three lines, a gold one in the center set off at either side by vermillion. Painter C's miniatures on folio 50 (fig. 12) and 50^v, the leaf conjugate with folio 53, has only a single, carmine line. He may, therefore, have decided to drop the frame and background with the first miniature of the seventh quire, only to return later and add them. Whether they were added as an afterthought, and if so, why, cannot be determined; one certainty is that the frame is a constraint upon Painter C: when he drops it certain elements of his style are given freer rein. The slight differences can be seen in his unframed miniature on folio 71^v (fig. 13), which illustrates the anointing of Solomon (I Kings 1:39). The figures are somewhat taller and thinner than those of the framed miniatures (compare figs. 11 and 12). The colors of faces and drapery, no longer needing to stand out against a strong blue background, are slightly paler, although they remain fairly close to the colors used by Painter A. Primarily, Painter C can now simplify the drapery patterns to just a few lines here and there generally applied over an unmodulated base tone. For drapery articulation he still uses both black and chrysography, as he did in the framed miniatures. For the faces the same proportions prevail: the forehead is low, the nose long and straight, and the mouth fairly small. The color schemes are also the same. Ochre and light tan approaching a cool green are the base tones, which he occasionally alternates decoratively for faces in a group but usually employs logically, reserving the lighter shade for women and youths and the darker for older men. In the unframed miniatures a softer shading is used around the jawline and eyes, but the technique for drawing the eye, that is, two short strokes that do not meet, remains the same. Thus, in the one quire where his miniatures would appear together with those of his colleagues, Painter C adjusts to the framed format by intensifying his palette, increasing the thickness of the pigment layer, and slightly altering his figure canon to suit the reduced format. Since the unframed miniatures represent a conscious departure from the format established in the first quire, and maintained throughout most of the scenes, we may assume that they more closely correspond to Painter C's stylistic ideal.

In Vat. gr. 463 the low density of illustration and the participation of only two painters presented few problems in the division of labor. The case of

Vat. gr. 333, however, is more complex, and the attributions deserve to be summarized graphically. All the miniatures in the first three quires are the work of Painter A alone and all those after the sixth the work of Painter C. It is with the second *bifolium* of the fourth quire that the collaboration of Painters A and B begins:

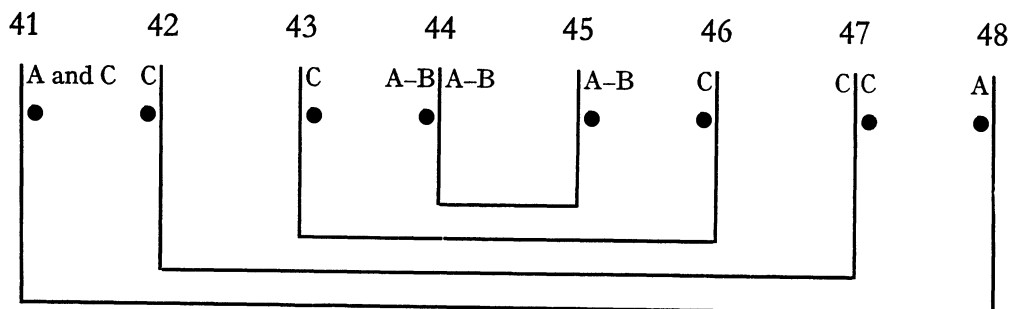


Quire IV (δ')



Quire V (ε')

One quire, the sixth, contains miniatures by all three painters, yet there is only one *bifolium* with miniatures by both Painter A and Painter C:



Quire VI (ς')

The careful organization of the work of painting the Book of Kings supports the attribution of the miniatures to three different hands.

The work of Painter C is important in relation to a third illustrated manuscript, cod. Marc. gr. 479, the *Cynegetica* of the Pseudo-Oppian.³⁰ The *Cynegetica* is a didactic poem written by Oppian of Apamea, probably in the early third century A.D.³¹ The Venice copy has generally been considered to date from the late tenth or early eleventh century. It contains, even in its slightly defective state, more than 150 miniatures painted by the same hand. The majority are unframed and have no backgrounds, like the work of Painter C in Vat. gr. 333. In fact, only a few comparisons are necessary to show convincingly that Painter C and the Master of the Venice Pseudo-Oppian are the same individual.

The miniature on folio 13^v (fig. 14), illustrating *Cyn.* I.358–63, depicts an expectant Laconian woman, at the top left, looking at representations of ancient heroes (the contemplation of which, the author tells us, has a salutary influence on the appearance of the Laconian offspring). The first of these heroes, Nireus, standing nearest the woman, may be compared with the figure of Abner on folio 42^v of Vat. gr. 333 (fig. 11). In the unframed *Cynegetica* miniature, Nireus is somewhat taller and thinner in appearance than Abner, but note the similarity of their head types. Both are regular ovals with an indentation for the eye sockets. The hairlines are similar as well and serve to draw attention to the large eyes. The style of indicating specific facial features with a brown line, or of lightly shading the jawline, is the same in both figures. A better comparison with this *Cynegetica* miniature might be the unframed miniature on folio 71^v of Vat. gr. 333 (fig. 13). In this case the proportions of the figures are closer, as is the method of painting the garments. In both miniatures there is a single underlying drapery tone over which the painter draws the lines indicating the individual folds. The Pseudo-Oppian Master's fondness for long, sweeping folds that run from the shoulder to the waist, creating the illusion of a loosely fitted tunic firmly belted at the waist, is apparent in both miniatures.

In the *Cynegetica* miniature on folio 23 (fig. 15), illustrating the sea battle of *Cyn.* II.62–68, there is the same linear detail on the armor as in the miniature on folio 50 of Vat. gr. 333 (fig. 12), or even as on the cloth tunics of the figures acclaiming Solomon on folio 71^v (fig. 13). Noteworthy is this painter's use of hatching, mostly on sleeves but also elsewhere, instead of a darker base tone. One of the principal contributions of this miniature, though, lies in the examples it offers of the Pseudo-Oppian Master's profile view of the face (compare figs. 12 and 13). The type is the same in both manuscripts, but only in the work of this one painter; it is not used by Painters I–B, II, or A, and so must be a personal trait. Over the course of the Pseudo-Oppian Master's work in the Book of Kings the actual pigment layer of his miniatures tends to become thinner. It is significant that the same tendency is also apparent in

³⁰ A. Zanetti, *Graeca Divi Marci bibliotheca codicum manuscriptorum* (Venice, 1740), 251; for bibliography on the miniature cycle, see Lazarev, *Storia*, 174 note 65.

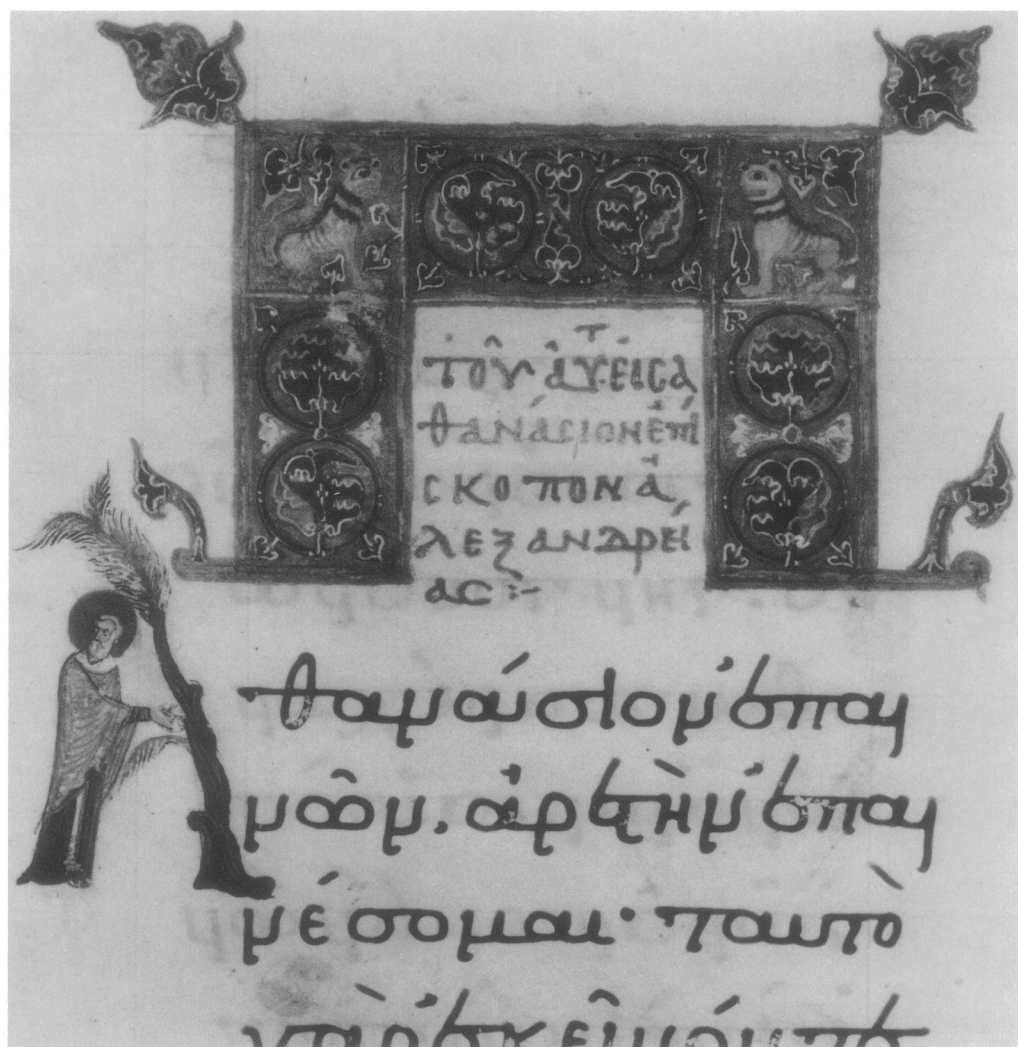
³¹ For discussion and bibliography, see *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, ed. A. Mair, Loeb (London, 1928), xiii–xxiii.



1. Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 463, fol. 22, St. Basil



2. Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 463, fol. 107, The Baptism of Christ



3. Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 463, fol. 192, St. Athanasius



4. Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 463, fol. 324, Habakkuk



5. Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 463, fol. 127, The Baptism of Christ



a. Samuel Appoints His Sons Judges Over Israel



b. The Israelites Demand of Samuel a King; Samuel in Prayer



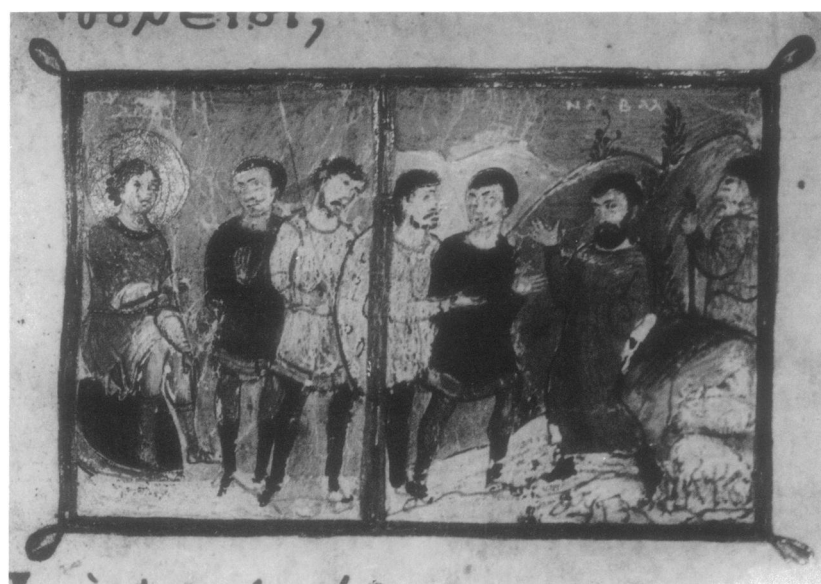
7. Fol. 22v, The Anointing of David



8. Fol. 28, David and Jonathan



9. Fol. 30, The Decapitation of Ahimilech; Abiathar Before David



10. Fol. 33, David Sends His Messengers to Nabal



11. Fol. 42v, Ishboseth Confronts Abner; Michael Before David



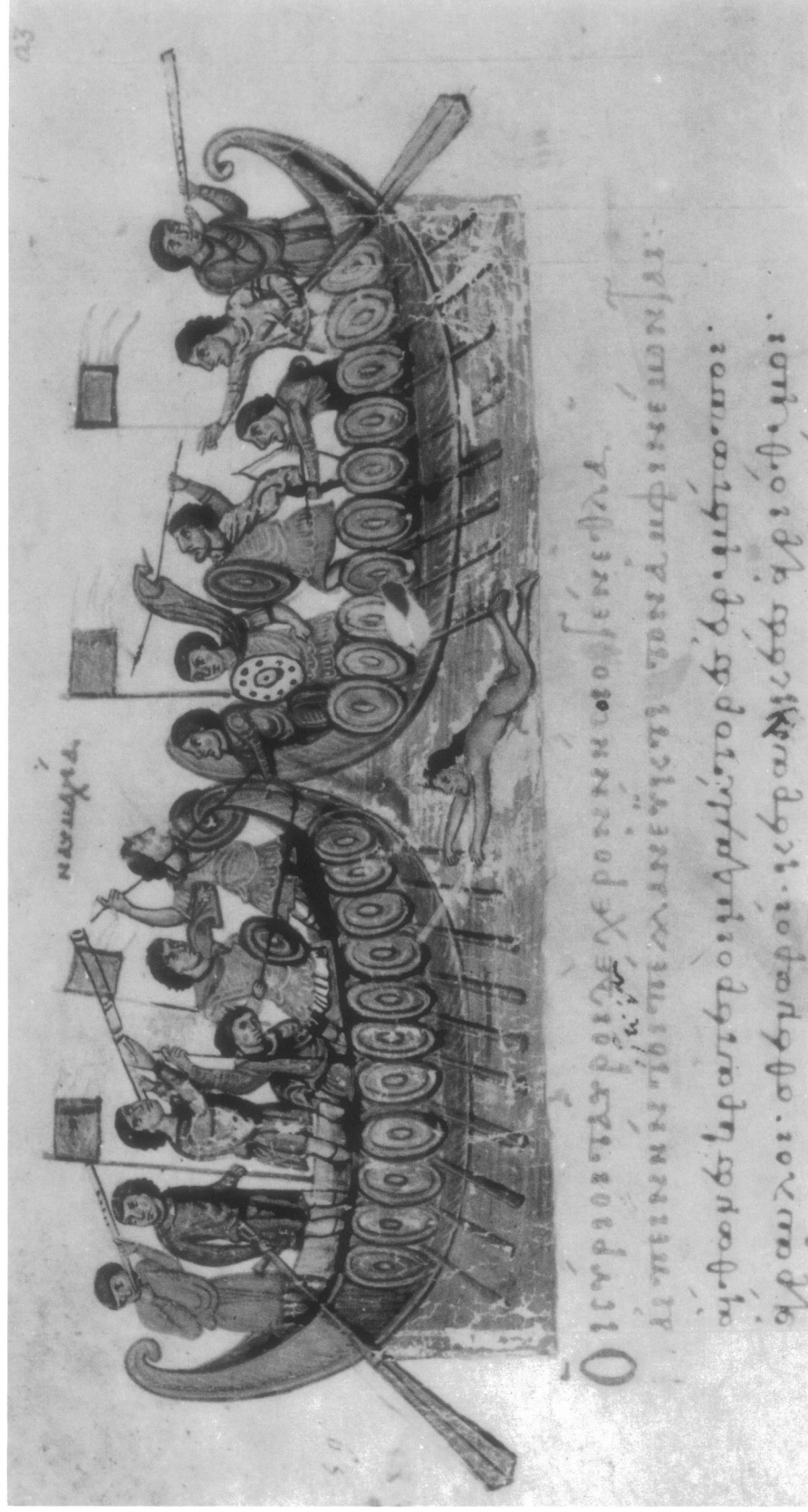
12. Fol. 50, The Death of Uriah at Rabbah; the Messenger Before David



13. Biblioteca Vaticana, Cod. Vat. gr. 333, fol. 71v, Zadok Anoints Solomon



14. Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Marc. gr. 479, fol. 13v, Laconian Woman and Ancient Heroes



15. Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Marc. gr. 479, fol. 23, Sea Battle



16. Biblioteca Marciana, Cod. Marc. gr. 479, fol. 62, Euboeans Practicing Agricultural Arts

the *Cynegetica*. The miniature on folio 62 (fig. 16)—illustrating the story told in *Cyn.* IV.265–76 of how the Aonian women bearing the body of Dionysus arrive in Euboea, where Aristaeus taught the people shepherding, beekeeping, agriculture, etc.—serves as an example of one of the later miniatures comparable to that on folio 71^v of the Book of Kings (fig. 13). In these two miniatures the Master's economy of technique is at its best. In the *Cynegetica* the garments are painted with so thin a layer of paint that the ground strip can occasionally be seen showing through.³² The similarity of the three figures at the left of the upper zone is so close to those in the anointing of Solomon that a detailed comparison seems gratuitous. The general proportions, head shape, and details of drawing and articulation are precisely the same. In addition, both miniatures offer fine examples of the Pseudo-Oppian Master's tendency to paint his figures with rather long and unjointed arms.

The identity of the Master of the Pseudo-Oppian as Painter C links another manuscript to the Book of Kings and Vat. gr. 463. None of the three contains information relevant to where they were painted, but some speculation may be permitted. With at least four painters, the center was an active one. A further inference that may be drawn from the colophon of Vat. gr. 463 is that the center was known for its painting; Theodore, the abbot of the Galakrenai monastery, obviously knew that he could take his nearly completed Gregory manuscript to the painters for the addition of initials and headpieces. If we suppose that the center enjoyed some renown, then it is not impossible that other attributions may be made on the foundation of the three manuscripts discussed here, and that, through a process of *enchaînement*, a work may be added to the group that contains the key to provenance. (It must be stated, though, that if the center was monastic and had a name it might be possible to determine the exact location and uncover facts bearing on its history, but if the center consisted of laymen working on commissions, then it is most unlikely that any literary testimony concerning it survives.) Until further information is added, the center can be broadly located in Constantinople by showing that the style of its products is generally comparable to that of several manuscripts of Constantinopolitan origin.

The figure style of the three manuscripts is in certain respects on a level comparable to that of the Theodore Psalter (Lond. Add. 19,352) made in the Studios monastery in 1066.³³ The salient feature of the figures in the Psalter is their relative incorporeality. Bodies tend to be tall and thin, the shading of individual forms is minimal, and prominent lines of chrysography emphasize simple planes, or when caught by light, splinter in a manner that subverts the illusion of solid, plastic form. The Evangelist portraits once part of the Phanar Lectionary, given in 1063 by Catherine Comnena to the monastery

³² The Pseudo-Oppian Master's method of working, in which the backgrounds are painted first, tends to confirm the assumed steps that Painters A and I–B took in their joint miniatures in Vat. gr. 333.

I should like to add here that the clustering of miniatures with similar color schemes in Marc. gr. 479 suggests that the Pseudo-Oppian Master painted the miniatures consecutively.

³³ S. Der Nersessian, *L'Illustration des psautiers grecs du moyen âge*, II, Londres, Add. 19,352, Bibliothèque des Cahiers archéologiques, V (Paris, 1970).

of the Holy Trinity at Chalke, exhibit elements of the same trend in metropolitan painting.³⁴ The major aspects of this trend become particularly apparent when one contrasts the style of painting in the Lectionary, the Psalter, and the three manuscripts under consideration here with illuminations from the tenth century, such as the portraits in Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, cod. 43,³⁵ or with ones dating from the turn of the tenth to the eleventh century, such as the miniatures in the Menologium of Basil II (Vat. gr. 1613).³⁶ Over the course of time from the tenth century to the middle of the eleventh, landscape backgrounds were replaced by gold or were simply disregarded, and shaded drapery gave way to a less plastic, more linear treatment.³⁷ While no single technique or figure type specifically relates the three manuscripts under study with the Theodore Psalter or the Phanar Lectionary, they all evince the same change in sensibility, which is dramatically revealed in the work of Painter I-B's acceptance by his colleagues. The Pseudo-Opian Master's method of rendering drapery is essentially linear, and his figures are somewhat two-dimensional; in painting faces he relies on thin layers of wash in a manner similar to that used by the painter of the Theodore Psalter. The headpiece on folio 22 (fig. 1) of the only manuscript of the group with extensive non-figural decoration, Vat. gr. 463, is of the same pattern as that on folio 100 of the Theodore Psalter.³⁸ Of significance is the way these patterns have been rendered. Both headpieces suggest a certain freehand informality; the lines that serve as articulation for the leaves and flower petals are wide and painted in a contrasting lighter tone. Again, a return to tenth-century works like Mt. Athos, Dionysiou, cod. 70 (*anno* 955)³⁹ or Stauronikita cod. 43,⁴⁰ with their exacting and occasionally sensitive style of ornament, underlines the similarity between the work of the painter of the Theodore Psalter and that of the painters of Vat. gr. 463. Thus, the style of the three manuscripts is similar to, and synchronous in its development with, certain Constantinopolitan manuscripts to a greater extent than might be expected in works from a provincial center.

The parallels that support localization of the center in Constantinople also provide some aid in establishing the relative chronology of the manuscripts. All three certainly fall within a quarter-century, most likely with a midpoint of roughly 1062. I am inclined to consider both the Book of Kings and the

³⁴ C. Diehl, "Monuments inédits du onzième siècle," *Art Studies*, 5 (1927), 9, figs. 3–6. At least three, and possibly all four, of the Evangelist portraits have been cut out of the Phanar Lectionary; two are now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (acc. nos. 42–1511, 42–1512). See the recent remarks by H. Kessler, in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts from American Collections*, ed. G. Vikan (Princeton, 1973), 84–87, figs. 22–24.

³⁵ K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1935), figs. 169–72.

³⁶ *Il menologio di Basilio II*, Codices e Vaticanis selecti, VIII (Turin, 1907).

³⁷ K. Weitzmann, "Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century," *Proceedings of the 13th International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, ed. J. Hussey, D. Obolensky, and S. Runciman (London, 1967), 207–11 (repr. in *Studies*, ed. Kessler [note 16 *supra*], 271–74).

³⁸ Der Nersessian, *op. cit.*, fig. 163.

³⁹ Weitzmann, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, figs. 160–65.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, figs. 176–78.

Cynegetica as somewhat earlier than Vat. gr. 463. In comparison with the work of Painter II in Vat. gr. 463, that of Painter A in the Book of Kings displays a degree of corporeality, care in rendering the facial features, and canon of relatively natural proportions that suggests more the style of late tenth- or early eleventh-century manuscripts like the Menologium of Basil II. The *Cynegetica* is perhaps also slightly earlier than 1062 or 1063. The Pseudo-Oprian Master's style is virtually identical in both works, and since I consider the Book of Kings to date sometime after the middle of the century, I would place the *Cynegetica* around the same time.

I should like to conclude by offering two observations on aspects of the painter's styles; the first concerns the relationships among the painters. While certain workshop techniques may be common to all four painters, the strongest impression of their output is one of variety. There is none of the homogeneity associated with, for example, the painters of the Menologium of Basil II.⁴¹ The Pseudo-Oprian Master appears to have had some influence on Painter A, but not of the sustained sort that the word implies. Painter A's representations of David on folios 24^v (right column miniature) or 30^v⁴² of the Book of Kings clearly contain suggestions of the facial type habitually used by the Pseudo-Oprian Master. The work of Painter I-B, on the other hand, certainly remains untouched by any of the refinements which his colleagues bring to their work. It is important to note, therefore, that a uniform style was not maintained in every painting center in Byzantium.

The second point concerns the relationship of the painter to his model. Our evidence, both pictorial and literary, indicates that from the time of the reinstitution of icon worship the cardinal rule of image making in Byzantium was extreme fidelity to the model. This practice was so pervasive that it often seems that a work exhibits more stylistic features of its model than of the individual who executed it. One particular class of examples revealing the influence of this practice is illustrated texts of a non-Christian nature whose images have no iconic or dogmatic force. The Venice *Cynegetica* is often regarded as a faithful copy of a late antique work, a pronouncement that has a certain undeniable appeal, the basis for which may easily be analyzed. The New York Dioscurides (Morgan Lib., cod. M 652) is a compilation of several illustrated, late antique herbals, one of which was quite probably the famous early sixth-century Anicia Codex (Vind. med. gr. 1).⁴³ On folio 225^v of the New York Dioscurides is a figure of a man pouring oil from a bowl into a large jar for processing;⁴⁴ his general proportions and head type are rather reminiscent of those of figures painted by the Pseudo-Oprian Master. The type is short, stocky, and has a prominent head, like the figures in the sixth-century Vienna Genesis (Vind. theol. gr. 31), a work with a number of miniatures that are unframed and lacking in any background other than

⁴¹ See the discussion in I. Ševčenko, "The Illuminators of the Menologium of Basil II," *DOP*, 16 (1962), 243-76.

⁴² Lassus, *Livre des Rois*, fig. 56.

⁴³ See the recent remarks by A. van Buren, in *Illuminated Greek Manuscripts*, ed. Vikan, 68.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, fig. 9; and *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbaei de Materia medica* (Paris, 1935), II, 225^v.

required topographical elements.⁴⁵ That the general similarities in figure type point to a late antique exemplar for the *Cynegetica* is seemingly confirmed by the absence of painted headpieces and initial ornament. Had the Venice *Cynegetica* been the only surviving work by the Pseudo-Oppian Master, its status as a reflection of an earlier manuscript could hardly be challenged, but the presence of these very same late antique traits in his work in the Book of Kings seriously calls this assumption into question.⁴⁶ The lack of significant variation in his style from one work to the other indicates that the Pseudo-Oppian Master is a painter with a strong personal style; he impresses it upon every miniature he paints and thereby obscures that of his models. His style is, however, an idiosyncratic one that seems based on a particularly keen appreciation of an earlier fashion. The style of the Master's colleagues, though, are more typical of the eleventh century; and taken together, the work of all four constitutes an instructive episode in Middle Byzantine painting.

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⁴⁵ H. Gerstinger, *Die Wiener Genesis* (Vienna, 1931).

⁴⁶ It has been suggested by K. Weitzmann (*Greek Mythology in Byzantine Art*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, IV [Princeton, 1951], 147–51) that only the core of the illustrations in the Venice *Cynegetica* is based on an early model; the others, he argues, were added in the Middle Byzantine period, some even adapted from Christian sources. His arguments are attractive ones which might now receive further attention using the information which has been gained through the study of the Master's style. In fact, the cycles of both the *Cynegetica* and the Book of Kings should now be re-examined in light of the stylistic and technical information herein established.